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# The Colonial Dames of America

## In the State of Ohio

## Pennsylvania

Studies in the Colonial Period for use in the Public Schools

# Colonial Pennsylvania

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# Introduction

THIS study of Colonial Pennsylvania is the sixth in the series of monographs which the Colonial Dames of America in the State of Ohio have undertaken to have written and printed for the use of the public schools in the teaching of colonial history. The others in the order of publication are: Virginia, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New York and Connecticut.

These colonial studies represent a distinct and valuable contribution to the material needed for teaching that important period of American History—the period extending from the settlement of the individual colony to its incorporation as a part of the American Republic. Each monograph attempts to set forth in a clear and simple manner the essential characteristics of the colony, the peculiar ideas and ideals of its people; and especially to make clear the part the colony played in the conflict with the "mother country" and its contribution toward the development of a national spirit, and a national government. When the state was born the colony ceased to exist, but the period preceding the framing and adoption of the Constitution is of tremendous importance. Without an understanding of the forces that were at work in that period, and of the reasons for these manifestations, we fail to clearly interpret the meaning of American history. For that reason the schools are under deep obligation to the Colonial Dames in the State of Ohio for the large service which they have undertaken in behalf of education in the preparation and publication of these monographs.

The story of Pennsylvania, the Keystone Colony, is one of deep interest and its study of great value. William Penn and the Indians; his treaty with the Indians which Voltaire characterizes as "the only covenant between savages and Christians that was never sworn to and that was never broken;" Penn's Constitution or "Frame" for the colony, guaranteeing freedom of worship, and clearly setting forth

the principles "that government exists for the sake of the people, and not people for the sake of the government;" Philadelphia, the home of Benjamin Franklin, of Independence Hall, and the Liberty Bell; the meeting place of the Continental Congresses, and where the Declaration of Independence was signed, and the national Constitution written.

Such a colony needs to be carefully studied by all who would understand America. The story is well told in the following pages.

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*Superintendent of Schools.*

Cincinnati, Ohio,
January, Nineteen twenty-one.

# Colonial Pennsylvania

PENNSYLVANIA is known as the Keystone State, because, being seventh in geographical order, it stood in half-way position among the original thirteen colonies. Central in the great arch of our republic, midway between the democracy of New England and the aristocracy of the South, combining qualities of both, binding and supporting, yet separating, this member of our commonwealth well deserves its nickname.

As a colony it was next to the youngest, dating its settlement from 1682, the year of William Penn's arrival and the founding of Philadelphia. Virginia and Massachusetts preceded Pennsylvania in the family of colonies by more than half a century; while Georgia, the youngest, came into being half a century later.

Yet, it must not be inferred that this fair land along the Delaware river was unknown and untenanted before 1682. Indians, calling themselves Lenni-Lenape, or "original people," inhabited the forests and lived on the abundance of game and fish. Other tribes, invaders from the west, the Allegeni, gave their name to western rivers and mountains. There were also subordinate tribes, the Nanticokes, Susquehannas and Shawnees, exploring the wilderness, making settlements and frequently warring with each other.

The territory, including what is now New Jersey, was early known to Europeans, as well.

In 1609, Henry Hudson visited the Delaware, and on the ground of his discovery the Dutch claimed possession of bay and river, though for nearly twenty years no settlers arrived. The great bay was called by the Indians, Poutaxat, while the river bore the title Lenape Wihittuck—"the rapid stream of the Lenape." The name Delaware was given by Sir Thomas West, English Lord Delaware, when, in 1610, he touched there on his way to Virginia—or possibly by his followers in honor of his memory, when he died in the same locality on his return voyage, eight years later.

In 1614, the States General of Holland granted a charter giving exclusive privileges of trade to those undertaking the first four voyages of discovery.

Captain Cornelis Hendrickson, in 1616, first explored to the mouth of the Schuylkill, whose Dutch name means "hidden channel."

In 1621, the Dutch West India Company was incorporated and sent Captain Kornelis Jacobus May (or Mey) on a voyage of exploration. His ship "New Netherland," passing the capes, one of which retains his name, advanced as far as Gloucester Point. He planted a village there and built Fort Nassau. This, however, was merely a military post, occupied by soldiers and servants of the West India Company to promote trade with the Indians. The date of founding Fort Nassau, 1623, marks the beginning of Dutch rule in the territory, and the supremacy of Holland lasted undisturbed for fifteen years.

Meantime, Sweden had also cast envious eyes upon this part of the new world and, in 1638, Peter Minuit, under patronage of Queen Christina, arrived with some fifty settlers. Purchasing land from the Indians, he built the fort and town of Christina, agreed by historians to have been the first *permanent* settlement. The Dutch were conquered and the next seventeen years of Swedish rule saw many quarrels, much hatred and jealousy, between the two nationalities. Swedish colonization was slow but trade was brisk. Each party bought more land from the Indians. Governor Printz, arriving from Sweden in 1642, was at least a heavy champion, as he is said to have weighed four hundred pounds. He founded Fort Gottenberg, on the island of Tinicum, and Fort Elsinborg on Salem Creek, closing that stream to the Dutch, and compelling all passing ships to lower colors and permit boarding by the Swedes. This Fort Elsinborg on Salem Creek was later nicknamed Mygenborg or Mosquito Fort, for it is said that the Swedes were forced to vacate it on account of mosquitoes.

By 1648, tradition says that there were only six Dutch settlers left on the river to about eighty or ninety Swedes. But in 1655, Governor Peter Stuyvesant, with five ships

besieged Fort Christina which surrendered in fourteen days. "Articles of capitulation were signed and the Swedes were allowed to leave with flying colors,"—were even offered free passage to Sweden, with all their private property. Thus ended the Swedish colony in Pennsylvania, though they still occupied the whole of Delaware. These neighboring colonies have, however, overlapping histories. "Throughout the whole colonial period," says Fiske, "Delaware and Pennsylvania, though distinct provinces with separate legislative assemblies, continued under the same proprietary government, and the history of the little community was to a considerable extent merged in that of the great one.

England, however, ignored Dutch claims to the new world. In 1664, King Charles II granted a patent to his brother, the Duke of York, including all lands held by Holland. A force was sent to take possession and the Dutch, in their turn, surrendered to numbers. Not all the settlers departed, for we read that, ten years later, there were, along the Delaware, some three thousand Dutch and Swedish inhabitants. Also, a new element was coming in. In 1675, John Fenwick, a Quaker, who had purchased a share in the province of New Jersey, came to the Delaware with a party of colonists and, landing near the site of Elsinborg, laid out a town called Salem. Governor Andros, angry at this invasion, summoned Fenwick to appear before him and show right or reason for assuming ownership in the Duke of York's dominions. The stubborn Quaker, failing to respond, was arrested, thrown into prison and detained until boundary lines of East and West Jersey were settled between proprietors in England. Two years later, in 1677, other colonists bound for West Jersey, proved more tractable and agreed to hold their estate subject to New York.

But, more than any other colony, Pennsylvania owes the interest of its early history to the man by whom it was permanently founded and for whom it was named, William Penn. On October 15, 1644, in lodgings near the Tower of London, this child came into a troubled world. The civil war in England, between King and Parliament, had been raging for two years. The baby's father, Admiral Sir

William Penn, was away at sea in command of Cromwell's fleet. His mother soon took her little son to the quiet town of Wanstead where, and in the neighboring Chigwell, he grew up and was educated. He was but five years old when King Charles I was beheaded and the party of Parliament obtained full control of the kingdom. Although secretly the Penns had always been royalists, the Admiral's position with Cromwell was secure and the family was safe. The boy went to school, studying Latin, Greek, and mathematics, and absorbing, beside, much of the Puritanism of the neighborhood. When he was twelve, his father, coming back from Jamaica, was arrested and thrown into the Tower on charge of returning without leave. This was probably only a pretended reason, the real fault being his discovered dealings with the late King and the exiled Crown Prince.

Mrs. Penn and young William, therefore, moved back to their old London lodgings, in order to be near the husband and father. His imprisonment was ended by submission to the Lord Protector and surrender of the naval commission. He was given an estate in Ireland and again left his family to live in that country and to plot for the return of Prince Charles. When the Restoration was fully planned, Admiral Penn was chosen as one of the messengers to carry the glad news to the Prince hiding in Holland. Now high in favor with the royal party, he was knighted, given more valuable estates, and restored to the Admiralty.

Meantime, William Penn, at sixteen years of age, was sent to Oxford for education at Christ Church college. Here, his leanings toward Puritan beliefs were strengthened and altered into Quakerism. The Quakers went beyond the Puritans in their revolt against established customs both in religion and in government. Denying all authority except the Bible and the "inner spiritual light," and believing war to be wrong, they refused to fight for King or country. Following the Scripture injunction, "Swear not at all," they would neither swear in courts of justice, nor take oath of allegiance to their sovereign. "Hat honor," or removal of their head-covering before royalty or magistrates, was stubbornly refused, and the refusal often landed the Quakers

in jail. Since they would neither give up their meetings when ordered to do so, nor yet hold them in secret, scorning to hide from their persecutors, they were driven from place to place, thrown into prison by the score, tortured, mutilated, and put to death, with a bitterness of hatred shown to almost no other sect. Yet their simple earnestness and the purity of their faith captivated young William Penn. His conversion to Quakerism dates from the days at Oxford, and his expression of the new faith became so troublesome that after two years he was expelled. Admiral Penn was bitterly disappointed in his son, and, according to William's own statement, received him with "whipping, beating, and turning out of doors, in 1662." Later his father tried sending him to Paris, hoping that the gay life of the capital might turn young William's mind from religious to worldly affairs. But in spite of the fine clothes, the good company, and the polite manners, which helped to make William Penn a cavalier as well as a Quaker, he remained true to his belief, became a preacher among his people, and was several times imprisoned for his faith. At twenty-four, he had become a recognized leader and was known as "The Great Quaker." He wrote many pamphlets in defense of his doctrines, beside his book, "No Cross, No Crown," entitling him to rank among authors. Much of his writing, like Bunyan's, was done in prison. But in spite of hardships, trials, and persecutions enough to distinguish a martyr, Penn kept the favor of his royal masters, King Charles II and King James II. They were much indebted to Admiral Penn, and mindful of his request to consider his son. The Great Quaker became a rich and influential person at court.

Charles II was always in need of money and borrowed it right and left. Not only was Admiral Penn's naval salary in arrears but the King was in his debt for loans, amounting to sixteen or eighteen thousand pounds. The Admiral died and his son inherited the debt. In 1680, therefore, William Penn conceived the idea of asking in payment a tract of land in America, as a refuge for his distressed and persecuted people. It was the territory lying north of Maryland, bounded on the east by the Delaware river, on the west by

Maryland, and northward "to extend as far as plantable." Now, since the King would never part with sixteen thousand pounds in money, this appeared a very good bargain. The wilderness of the new world was of small value and limitless in extent, a troublesome debtor and thousands of complaining Quakers could be disposed of by a few strokes of the quill. It was, therefore, agreeable to grant the petition and give to the claimant part of what had already been conferred upon the King's brother, the Duke of York. There was, naturally, considerable dispute over boundaries when the petition came before the King's Privy Council, and, for many years, controversy and border-warfare raged in the new colony over these questions. But, for the time, boundaries were settled to the satisfaction of all concerned, with the result that the largest tract of land ever given to a single individual, forty thousand square miles of fertile territory, abounding in coal, iron and oil, was turned over to William Penn.

This, too, was the only royal grant in America which was bought with money; for, in other instances, agreement to stake life and fortune on the great adventure was deemed sufficient compensation. Penn, however, accepted his grant in full payment of a debt which, in that day, was a considerable sum.

The Charter was signed on the fourth of March, 1681, and Penn became "lord of a domain larger than Ireland and lacking only about six thousand square miles of being as large as England." The territory was named by the King himself, as we read in Penn's own account: "This day, my country was confirmed to me under the great seal of England, with large powers and privileges, by the name of Pennsylvania, a name that the King would give it in honor of my father." The incident is given by an old writer, as follows: "Penn had intended to call his province New Wales, because he had heard there were, in its western part, hills and mountains. Charles II for some reason objecting, a change was made to Sylvania or 'Woodland.' The King then prefixed the name Penn, which displeased the proprietor, fearing that it had an 'egotistical look' unbecoming a modest Quaker. Penn, therefore, urged that his name be crossed out. 'We

will keep it,' replied the quick-witted King, 'but not on your account, my dear fellow. Don't flatter yourself. We will keep the name to commemorate the Admiral, your noble father.' Whereupon, Penn was forced to yield, though he afterward argued that since Pen in the Welsh language also means 'hill,' the name Pennsylvania really meant 'Hilly Woodland.' "

The Charter was similar to that granted, some half-century earlier, to Lord Baltimore for the province of Maryland. The land belonged absolutely to Penn, to whom the colonists were to pay rent. On his part, he agreed to pay the King two beaver-skins, delivered each year at Windsor Castle, and one-fifth of all gold and silver to be found in the province.

Free government was assured; a legislative body elected by the people, executive and veto power reserved to Penn, as perpetual governor of the province. He was also given right of appointing magistrates, judges, and other officers, and of pardoning criminals.

Having secured grant and charter, Penn advertised for settlers. Five thousand acres of the new territory could be leased for one hundred pounds sterling, with further annual rental of one shilling per acre. Persons lacking ready money might rent two hundred acres or less, at the same price. All British rights and liberties were guaranteed and no laws could be passed without consent of the people.

Penn expected Quakers to flock from all parts of the United Kingdom as well as from Holland and France to what he termed, and the Quakers have ever since called, "an Holy Experiment." For such a refuge in the new world had been discussed and desired through the preceding quarter-century. George Fox, founder of the sect, had tried through agents to buy land of the American Indians; but because of tribal wars and the difficulty of finding a suitable location, nothing definite had been accomplished.

Now that the grant had been made, it seemed reasonable to expect glad acceptance of religious freedom in a new land.

But it takes time to break old ties, settle home affairs and embark upon a new life, and the response was somewhat

slow in coming. However, in the course of this first year, 1681, more than twenty ships sailed for the Delaware, carrying some three thousand colonists.

Meantime, not Penn, but his cousin, William Markham, went out, as deputy-governor, to take possession of Pennsylvania and rule in Penn's name.

There were scattered families of Swedes, English, and Dutch along the banks of the Delaware, when Markham arrived in July, 1681. At Upland (now Chester), about fifteen miles below the present site of Philadelphia, he established himself and remained in charge of affairs for more than a year.

Penn did not arrive until October, 1682. The ship "Welcome," bearing the Great Proprietor and a group of colonists, set out from Deal in the late summer. Penn's family remained in England, fortunately, for the two month's voyage was saddened by an outbreak of small-pox causing the death of one-third the hundred passengers. The remnant, with their leader, landing at Newcastle, Delaware, were greeted by shouts of welcome from Dutch and Swedish settlers, the men "in leather breeches and jerkins," the women "in skin jackets and linsey petticoats."

Penn showed the royal commission giving him rights over what is now the state of Delaware. In response, two of the colonists, following the old feudal ceremony, handed him "water and turf and twig," in token of loyalty. Thus did this vast new land pass over to its proprietor and the Holy Experiment was fairly begun.

After arranging for the government of this part of his domain, Penn went on to Upland, Markham's headquarters, where there was a considerable settlement. This, later renamed Chester, became the first capital of the new province and here were enacted the sixty-one statutes known as "The Great Law" of Pennsylvania.

Before leaving England, Penn had also drawn up a document called "Conditions or Concessions" to regulate the government of the province. A city was to be surveyed, roads laid out, and intercourse with the Indians regulated.

He warned his commissioners to be "impartially just and courteous to any old settler," to be "tender of offending the

Indians and hearken, by honest spies, if you can hear that anybody inveigles them not to sell or to stand off and raise the value upon you." He had planned the streets of his capital, Philadelphia, the location of stores and markets, and the site of his own house. The checker-board city, in all its regularity, was already on paper. He had also written a letter to the Indians, telling them of "the Great Spirit who had made both the white man and the red."

"Now the Great God hath been pleased to make me concerned in your part of the world, and the King of the country where I live, hath given me a great province therein; but I desire to enjoy it with your love and consent that we may always live together as neighbors and friends; else what would the Great God do to us who hath made us (not to devour and destroy one another, but) to live soberly and kindly together in the world." To the everlasting honor of William Penn, these friendly words were honestly fulfilled. He was ever famous among his Indian neighbors as "the one white man and Christian who could keep faith with the savage." When, a few days after his arrival at Upland, Penn went by row-boat to the high bluff already fixed upon for his principal city, the Indians were gathered to meet the great pale-face.

We may imagine the beauty of those late October days, the stillness of the wooded banks in their autumn coloring, the millions of wild-fowl. It is said that great flocks of wild pigeons, flying so low that they were knocked down with sticks, formed a staple article of food, and we read of fish and game in lavish abundance. Upon landing, Penn joined the group of Indians and immediately won their approval. He was then thirty-eight years old, tall, athletic, and handsome. Judging by his portraits, there must have been magnetism in his dark eyes, while cavalier training had given him courtly manners supported by sincerity and the earnest desire of being true friend to the red men. Tradition says that he sat on the ground beside them, ate of their food, and even joined in a jumping contest, surprising the Indians by his strength and agility.

In November, 1682, at Shackamaxon, under a great elm, which survived until 1810, Penn made his famous treaty

with the Indians. This event has been made the subject of pictures and descriptions for which there is no foundation except fancy. But the old writer John Watson testifies to some details witnessed by a lady present at this conference, "a woman of truth," which must be accepted as accurate. The Indians had prepared, she said, the best entertainment within their power. Naturally attractive through the beauty and dignity of his person and manner, Penn further endeared himself to the Indians by special acts of friendliness. "He walked with them, sat with them on the ground, and ate with them of their roasted acorns and hominy. When they began to show their athletic skill, hopping and jumping, William Penn sprang up and outdanced them all." From this day Onas (the Indian equivalent for "feather," "quill," "pen," the name by which the Great Quaker was known to them), became their admired and trusted friend.

Of the treaty, Voltaire remarks, "It was the only covenant between savages and Christians that was never sworn to and that was never broken."

Penn's policy of paying the Indians for their land was not unlike that of other colonies; but perhaps his bargains were fairer and more scrupulously fulfilled. It is interesting to remember that for the tract of land extending from the Delaware to the Susquehanna the price paid was "44 pounds of red lead, 30 pair of hawk's bells, 30 fathoms of duffels, 60 fathoms of strandwater (varieties of coarse cloth), 30 each of guns, kettles, shirts, combs, axes, knives, bars of lead, pounds of powder, pairs of scissors, pairs of stockings, glasses, awls, tobacco-boxes, 12 pairs of shoes, 20 tobacco-tongs, 3 papers of beads, 6 draw-knives, 6 caps, 12 hoes, 200 fathoms of wampum." Not a high price for an Empire but all that the Indians demanded. The justice and fair dealing of the Quakers, joined to conditions of Indian policy, resulted in more than seventy years of peace. The Holy Experiment was wisely grounded.

The year after Penn's arrival his city was established. He writes, in 1683, "Philadelphia, the expectation of those concerned in the province, is at last laid out, to the great content of those here." Its first streets were named for

plants and shrubs which the pioneer axe had felled to make way for log cabins. In fact, huts could not be built fast enough for the swarming settlers, and many people encamped picnic-fashion, in caves along the river bank. At the end of 1683, there were three hundred and fifty-seven houses, most of them frame, a few of bright red brick.

Penn wrote home enthusiastic letters filled with praise of his new estate: "O how sweet is the quiet of these parts, freed from the anxious and troublesome solicitations, hurries and perplexities of woeful Europe." Then follows account of the lavish gifts of nature—vegetables, game and fruits. Of the climate his truthfulness required what is still an excellent description: "The weather often changeth without notice and is constant almost in its inconstancy."

Meantime, the great proprietor was not only providing suitable homes, but was establishing a firm and liberal government for his people. A written constitution had been prepared in England in the spring of 1682. Various distinguished Englishmen advised and aided Penn in preparing this document, or rather its several drafts, some twenty of which are still preserved among the Penn papers of the Pennsylvania Historical Society. These are arranged in order showing the gradual development of Penn's ideas. The draft finally adopted, bearing date of April 25, 1682, followed the general plan of other colonial governments, providing for a Governor's Council and an Assembly elected by the people. It is, however, notable as being the first constitution which made provision for its own amendment. This feature and the method of impeachment—to be brought by the lower house and tried by the upper house—were entirely new in American governments and have since been adopted by all the states as well as by the federal constitution.

Freedom of worship was granted to all those who acknowledged one God; members of the Assembly and those who voted for them must believe also in the Divinity of Jesus Christ and the redemption of the world through Him. Within these limits, religious liberty was guaranteed. As Penn expressed it in his "Letter to the Colonists," "All and every person in the province shall, by the help of the Lord

and these fundamentals, be free from oppression and slavery; no man shall have power over another man's conscience."

Other novel doctrines were incorporated in this first Constitution or "Frame," as Penn called it, and were re-enacted by the Assembly as part of the "Great Law." For instance, "Governments exist for the sake of the people and not people for the sake of governments." "Punishment of criminals has for its object reformation rather than vengeance." As proof of this belief, the death penalty was inflicted for two crimes only, murder and high treason; while Massachusetts listed fifteen capital crimes. Constitution and laws faithfully performed Penn's promise to his people, for, in 1681, he had written to "Colonists already on the Delaware" as follows: "My friends, I wish you all happiness here and hereafter. These are to let you know that it hath pleased God in His providence to cast you within my lot and care. I shall not usurp the right of any or oppress his person." The Great Law forbade "swearing, cursing, drunkenness, health-drinking, card-playing, scolding, and lying." Work-houses and reformatories took the place of the foul dens in which England confined her criminals. The Philadelphia prisons were long famous as the best in the world. Pillory and whipping-post were used for minor offenses, but Pennsylvania was the leader in modern charities. Philadelphia, before the Revolution, possessed the only lunatic asylum founded on modern lines, as well as a hospital and reform school. Andrew Hamilton, Speaker of the Assembly, in the speech made upon his retirement from office in 1739, says in allusion to these philanthrophies, "All are due to the excellency of our Constitution framed by the wisdom of Mr. Penn."

A law was enacted for naturalizing Swedes and other foreigners, and an "Act of Union" provided for the annexation of Delaware, then known as "The Territories," or "the three lower counties." This was in accord with the request of Delaware colonists; for while Penn's deed from the Duke of York had already given him the land, it did not confer the right of government.

The Council consisted at first of seventy-two, later only eighteen, members, elected by the people. Together with the

Governor, this executive body also proposed and enforced laws, guarded the peace and safety of the Colony, decided upon the site of cities, ports and roads, established courts and schools—in short, kept a firm hold on all affairs of the province.

The General Assembly or lower house, also elected by the people, was a larger body, having right only to approve the laws, and was intended to act as a check to any tyranny on the part of the Council. By combining in the latter body both legislative and executive powers and reserving to himself the veto-power, Penn established a government less liberal and democratic than it appeared. Yet so wise and tactful was the Great Proprietor, that so long as he personally remained at the head of affairs, matters progressed favorably and the people were content.

But, unfortunately, his stay was short. The year and ten months of this life in the new world were the happiest and most peaceful days of his varied career. He had laid out his capital city, seen it grow into a fair-sized village, planned and partly built his own town mansion and a country-seat at Pennsbury, near Bristol. He had traveled to New York, in duty to his patron the Duke; to Maryland, for discussion of boundary disputes with Lord Baltimore; had gone among the Indians and the colonists of New Jersey and Long Island. In all these journeys, he had found time to preach at Quaker meetings and to win the friendship of the different nationalities already within his province. A long letter written to the Free Society of Traders, in England, shows the keen observation and wide knowledge of William Penn. Every line of it is worth reading for the light it throws upon natural history, conditions of life in the new world, and habits of the Indians, as well as for its clear and simple English.

The Maryland boundary was still a vexed question, and when Penn learned that Lord Baltimore had started for England, it became evident that he, too, must be on hand to lay the matter before the King. Therefore, in August, 1684, the Proprietor said a reluctant farewell to his province and sailed for the home-land.

It was fifteen years before he again saw his beloved Pennsylvania and they were years of vexation and worry; for, in

his absence, affairs went ill with the province. There were constant bickerings between Council and Assembly, laws were made and annulled, one unpopular deputy-governor succeeded another. The form of government itself was changed six times in ten years, making trial of deputies, commissioners, and Council. No money was sent to Penn; he complained bitterly that the province owed him five thousand pounds sterling. Finally, in March, 1693, an English order-in-council deprived Penn of his rights, and declared Pennsylvania a royal province. The government was turned over to Colonel Benjamin Fletcher, an old soldier, then Captain-General of New York. William III, at that time on the English throne, was less partial to Penn than the Stuart kings had been. Influenced also by complaints from Lord Baltimore and other disappointed parties, he used his royal right to revoke the royal grant, giving as reasons that the colony was mismanaged and that it made no provision for defence against French aggression. But the earnestness of Penn's friends and the king's sense of justice, since none of the alleged disorders could be proved against the Proprietor, led to a return of the province to his control after less than two years.

Still Penn felt it impossible to leave England. His wife, Guli Springett, died in 1694, leaving two children, William and Laetitia.

In 1696, Penn married Hannah Callowhill, "a devout and comely maiden of Bristol." Finally, some three years later, he again sailed, with this new wife and the two grown-up children, to his beloved province. The voyage lasted three months and he arrived in December, 1699. Yellow fever had swept over Philadelphia, causing many deaths and universal panic. But the city had grown and prospered. It had more than seven hundred houses and not fewer than four thousand people; a Friend's Meeting-house, of course, and also an Episcopal Church; several brick warehouses and the "slate-roof house" of the Penns. Here Hannah Penn's first son, John, was born, the only one of Penn's numerous family born in America, hence always called "the American." There were several taverns advertising "good meals for six-

pence, lodging for twopence." Although cows and goats roamed at large, there were fenced gardens carefully cultivated and gay with the flowers of old England.

Some luxury was enjoyed by the early dwellers in Pennsylvania, for an inventory of furniture used at Pennsbury, the Proprietor's country mansion about twenty miles up the river, includes "plush couches, embroidered chairs, curtains of camlet and satin, and such a carpet as was rarely seen outside of a palace." Fine silver and china are enumerated, and the table did not lack bountiful and appetizing food. The manor house itself is said to have cost five thousand pounds sterling. Its bricks had been brought from England and it had been carefully planned and begun by Penn on his first visit. Gardens, lawns and terraces, an avenue of poplars leading to the river, vistas opened to afford lovely views through the surrounding forest, and paths laid out for walks —all these early descriptions give up a pleasant picture of an easy, agreeable life in strong contrast to the rugged simplicity of New England at the same era.

Meetings of the Council and Indian deputations were often entertained in the great hall at Pennsbury. The Lord Proprietor traveled between his town and country house either on horseback, or by river in a six-oared barge. His ideal of democracy was that of a patriarch ruling over a happy people, absolute control joined to popular rights—the same odd mingling of characters as that which combined in Penn the Quaker and the Cavalier.

But not all was harmonious in the new colony. Disagreements between Pennsylvania and Delaware, between Quakers and Episcopalians, between Council and Assembly; failure in paying rents; defalcation of trusted agents; there were plenty of anxieties for William Penn. His fair-mindedness is evidenced in an appeal to his people.

"Friends," he said, "if in the Constitution by charter there be anything that jars, alter it."

In accordance with this generous permission, the Constitution was, in 1701, revised, shortened, and made more liberal. Penn signed the new document "without hesitation or delay" and under its provisions the Colony was governed

up to the Revolution. It was "thoroughly American" and undoubtedly gave the model for many clauses in our Federal Constitution.

Meantime, affairs in England required the presence of the Great Quaker, and he returned to the old country in the winter of 1701. Sharp differences of opinion existed between the King and Penn; it looked for a while as if Pennsylvania might again be taken from its founder. But, within a few months, William III died and Queen Anne came to the throne. As James II's daughter, this queen had friendly feelings toward her father's favorite and Penn felt that his Holy Experiment was once more safe from royal meddling.

However, new troubles arose through the deputies sent by Penn to administer in his absence the affairs of the Colony. One of these, John Evans by name, being not a Quaker but a hot-headed youth of twenty-five, yearned for military glory. England and New England were fighting with the French and Indians, while the Quaker Colony, protected by friendly tribes, stood apart from the scene of war. Evans, disregarding both the welfare of the province and its religious objections to fighting, urged that troops be sent to aid the cause of England.

Meeting with no response, he resorted to strategem. On the day of the annual "Fair," a pleasant spring morning in 1706, the Philadelphia streets and market places were crowded by holiday-makers. A horseman came galloping into town, announcing with great excitement that French warships—a dozen of them—were coming up the Delaware. Governor Evans quickly mounted his own horse, cantered from street to street waving a sword and summoning people to take arms against the enemy. Not a word of truth was in this rumor of ships, but the citizens were terrified. Silver spoons and other precious things were thrown into wells or buried in gardens. Boats were loaded with fleeing people who hurried up the river into hiding. Yet, most of the Quakers gathered at their meeting-house and steadfastly refused to flee; while only four denied their doctrines by arming themselves and going to the rallying place urged by the governor. The panic was soon over and with it ended

the influence of Governor Evans. He tried other means of winning notoriety. One such scheme was that known as Powder Money. This was a tax which Evans contrived to have levied on every ship passing Newcastle, the proceeds to aid in prosecution of the war. Penn's charter had expressly forbidden such levies and the Quakers protested. Three of them, Hill, Norris, and Preston, with true Revolutionary spirit, chased and captured a sloop, arrested its commander and delivered him to the authorities at Salem. After this incident, Powder Money ceased to be collected. Evans was recalled and the succeeding deputy, Colonel Charles Gorkin, managed to restore the confidence of the people in their absent proprietor.

In addition to his troubles as ruler, William Penn had domestic sorrows. His son, William, was dissipated and idle, almost breaking his father's heart by his scandalous behavior. Laetitia, the daughter (whose house has been removed to Fairmount Park and is still preserved), married a grasping person named Aubrey, who was always begging money from Penn. A false steward, Philip Ford, made his master much trouble. He lent money to Penn, who was embarrassed by the debts of his son and the extortions of his son-in-law. The province was mortgaged as security and even after the loan was cancelled, Ford retained the deed. For, thoroughly honorable himself, the Great Quaker trusted to the honor of others. Ford died in 1706, but his widow and his son pressed an utterly unfounded claim for £14,000 and petitioned Queen Anne to give them, on the basis of the cancelled mortgage, proprietary rights to Pennsylvania. They did not succeed, but in the conflict of claims Penn was thrown into a debtor's prison, where he remained nine months. Quaker friends on both sides of the Atlantic bestirred themselves for his release. The Fords were bought off and Penn was set at liberty.

There followed a few years of comparative peace, save for domestic anxieties and financial stress. Moreover, Penn felt himself growing old; he was now nearly seventy. It is no wonder that he wished to sell his rights to the Crown, asking in payment £12,000 and keeping only his private estate. But

before the bargain could be completed he was rendered incapable of business transactions. In 1712, a paralytic stroke laid him low. The remaining six years of his life are a sad record of constantly failing memory and senses. At the end his strong mind had become a blank, his dimmed eyes never again looked upon their beloved Pennsylvania, and he died peacefully in 1718.

During these six years of his failing health, Mrs. Penn, aided by prudent deputies, had managed the affairs of the province and now, by Penn's will, she became its owner. Legacies were left to the children, and the government, which had always been considered separate from the ownership, was bequeathed to several noblemen, in trust, to sell to the Crown. William Penn, the oldest son, however, claimed the right to govern and, before the ensuing law-suit could be settled, his death and that of his son Springett Penn, left the whole estate to the children of the second wife. A compromise vested in her both proprietary and governing rights, she became the Lord Proprietor of Pennsylvania, and, though prevented from visiting her province, she ruled acceptably, through various governors, until her death in 1733. Then the ownership of Pennsylvania passed to her three sons, John, Thomas, and Richard. These all died in England. Richard's two sons governed in turn, and when the Revolution ended the proprietary government, Pennsylvania was still in possession of Penn's heirs.

The growth of the Colony was steady, even rapid. Great numbers of German and Scotch-Irish immigrants peopled the frontier settlements, but were good neighbors content to leave matters of government to the Quaker Assembly. Higher education found little favor; for the Quakers depended upon the "inner light" rather than upon scholarship. But the children were carefully taught "the three R's," and a school was established at Philadelphia in the very first year of its settlement, 1683. Here the master, Enoch Flower, taught "reading for four shillings the quarter; for six shillings the pupil could add writing, or for eight shillings, arithmetic likewise." In 1689, the Society of Friends set up a public school to which, in 1711, Penn granted a charter. But it

was not until 1749 that Benjamin Franklin started an Academy. Four years later this school obtained a charter and was, for the next quarter-century, spoken of as "The College." Non-sectarian, it included at first every sect in its Board of Trustees, but later became Episcopalian. Franklin was advanced in his ideas of education, as of everything else, and felt that the youth of the Colony should have opportunities of learning nearer home than were Yale and Harvard in the north, or William and Mary in the south, the only colleges then flourishing. He advocated, however, discarding Greek and Latin from the course and substituting the study of English and especially of science.

A printing-house was opened in 1685, the first press south of New England, and owes its establishment to William Bradford, who also built a paper-mill. In 1719, his son, Andrew Bradford, issued the first newspaper of the Colony. It was here that Franklin found work as type-setter in 1723.

Other arts and sciences began to flourish. Philadelphia may boast early botanists, mathematicians, astronomers; while Franklin himself was the new-world leader in scientific discovery and invention. We owe to him not only the fundamental knowledge of electric currents, but such practical utilities as open stoves, street lamps, the fire department, and the circulating library.

Literature was not neglected. The very first American drama, a tragedy called "The Prince of Parthia," was the work of a Philadelphian, Thomas Godfrey. Yet the Quakers looked coldly upon dramatic efforts and when, in 1749, a small company undertook to render Shakespeare, the performance was suppressed by the city authorities.

Though agriculture was the principal business of the Pennsylvania people, manufactures and commerce were not far behind. Wheat, timber, and furs were exported. Philadelphia ale became famous and "good German Glass" was made at Germantown. Pig iron was manufactured; by the middle of the eighteenth century three thousand tons of it were exported annually to England. From an old book, entitled "The Importance of British Plantations in America," we read a list of other exports—"Wheat, flour, bisket,

barrelled beef and pork, bacon, ham, butter, cheese, cyder, apples, soap, starch, hair-powder, tanned leather, beeswax, tallow-candles, strong beer, linseed oil, strong waters, deer-skins and other peltry, hemp, some little tobacco, lumber,—also drugs of various sorts." A creditable list for a colony less than seventy-five years old.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, Pennsylvania had taken third place among the colonies in population; by the Revolution it had increased to second rank—only Virginia surpassing it. Towns had multiplied. Philadelphia, grown to thirty thousand population, was, by 1750, the largest city in the new world. Lancaster boasted ten thousand; York was nearly as large.

Labor was plentiful and well-paid. There were some negro slaves though most of the work was done by "Redemptioners"—articled servants, principally Irish and German. Their term of service was four years, five days being added for every day they played truant. Good behavior gave them, at the end of service, a suit of clothes and a set of farm tools. Colored slaves were used for household service but the Quaker conscience was early aroused on the question of slavery. In 1688, in a "Memorial," sent to the Germantown Monthly Meeting of Quakers, some German "Friends" protested against "the buying and keeping of negroes." Efforts continued to prevent, by statute, the importation of slaves and some years before the Revolution they had ceased to enter Pennsylvania. In 1758, the Yearly Meeting ordered all Friends to set free their slaves, "making a Christian provision for them." Some people failed to obey this order and, in 1776, a declaration of independence for all slaves held by Friends was decreed; Quakers who persisted in holding slaves were excommunicated.

Under Mrs. Penn's government, wealth rapidly increased. Mortgages were paid off and, for the first time, possessions in the Quaker colony became profitable rather than expensive. The experience of Pennsylvania with paper currency was more fortunate than that of the New England colonies, where inflation nearly proved their ruin. Paper money, in Penn's province, maintained a steady value and was always

sound. This was partly due to the peace enjoyed by the Colony for some seventy years, but chiefly to the restraint in issuing these promissory notes. Only enough paper money was given out at one time to supply the place of gold taken to England, thus always preserving a just balance of credit. The Penn heirs gradually allied themselves with the Church of England; but, while that placed executive powers in the hands of Episcopalians, the Assembly was still under Quaker control. There was naturally much pulling in different directions between the two branches of government. Keith, one of the early governors sent out by Mrs. Penn, became popular with the Assembly but curried favor by numerous false promises. It was he who sent the youthful Franklin off to England, assuring him valuable letters of introduction which never materialized. It was at Keith's suggestion that paper money was first issued. He skillfully granted all reasonable requests of the people or managed by plausible arguments to win them over to his wishes. But he overreached himself, finally, by dismissing from the Council its greatest man, James Logan, who was successively Secretary of the Province, President of Council, and Chief Justice. He was also a noted botanist and the famous Linnaeus named for him a class of plants, the *Loganaceae*. Public-spirited and of great prudence, he had been a valued friend to William Penn. When, therefore, Keith endeavored to humiliate him, the matter was laid before Mrs. Penn. She promptly rebuked the Governor, who resisted and argued. Then he was recalled but lingered long enough to plot against the proprietary government. Compelled at last to escape his creditors by fleeing to England, he later distinguished himself by publishing suggestions for taxing American colonies, and died disgraced in a debtor's prison. He was followed as Governor of Pennsylvania by an old soldier named Gordon whose wise administration gave Mrs. Penn peaceful years until her death.

John Penn, "the American," came over, stayed only a few months, and returned to settle anew in England, the endless boundary dispute with Maryland. Thomas Penn was governor for nine years, 1732 to 1741. He was a careful business man but lacked his father's generosity and breadth

of vision. Times had changed indeed. There were now nearly half a million people, English, Scotch-Irish and German, to be governed and their rents collected. Treaties must still be made with the Indians, boundaries settled with Connecticut, Maryland, and Virginia. Then there was the difficult question of military defense, becoming yearly more necessary, but yet entirely contrary to the Quaker belief.

In the words of the historian Sharpless: "Pennsylvania became the most consistently prosperous of all the colonies, the most rapid in its growth in freedom and prosperity. So nearly had the inhabitants everything they could desire that they hesitated to take up the Revolutionary cause in 1775. Their charter, their traditions, their thoughts, were all free and they were slow to understand the fervor of New England and Virginia."

The attitude of the Quaker party toward the war has been further summarized as follows:

"We did not approve the proceedings of the British Ministry, which irritated the Americans; we thought them ill-advised and in view of their certain effects, wicked; we would have joined with our fellow citizens in peaceful legal resistance to them and have suffered for the principles of liberty and justice. But we do not believe in war; we will not be a party to overturning the beneficent charter of William Penn, nor will we aid in throwing off our ultimate allegiance to the King of Great Britain. We, who largely made this Province what it is, and who have shown in the past our capacity for the peaceful maintenance of rights, are utterly opposed to the measures now taken and disavow all responsibility for them. We cannot take any part in the war, on one side or the other; we cannot recognize the revolutionary government, set up by illegal means, by holding office under it or by affirming allegiance to it; nor will we assist Britain in the unrighteous means taken to conquer rebellious Provinces; we are out of the whole business and will give aid and comfort to neither party."

The wish of the "Friends" was thus to observe strict neutrality, but as events hurried into the actual struggle, patriotism led many younger members of their faith into

resistance so opposed to Quaker teaching that the Monthly Meetings were kept busy disciplining these "sorrowful defections." One such case was that of Thomas Mifflin, who became aide-de-camp to General Washington, major-general, and finally first governor of the state. It is estimated that about one-fifth of the adult male Quakers in Philadelphia joined the American army or took places under the revolutionary government. A very small number came out openly on the British side.

Most of the Quakers, however, were conscientious pacifists and consistently neutral. Like most peacemakers, they suffered from both opponents, American and British, and their story in the Revolution is unhappy and sorrowful. Besides suffering minor indignities, a party of twenty—"the best citizens of Philadelphia"—were exiled to Virginia, because they would neither avow allegiance to the American Government nor even promise good behavior if allowed to remain in their homes. For eight months they suffered the discomforts of exile, two of them died. When danger from British invasion seemed less threatening, a petition to General Washington effected the release of these prisoners and their safe conduct through the lines back to Philadelphia.

While admitting and admiring this firm adherence to the teachings of their faith, the later historian may appreciate its irritating effect upon the ardent patriotism of those "times which tried men's souls." Although the Keystone Colony had prospered through seventy years of peace, her sister colonies had been less fortunate. Not only was it needful to repel Indian attacks but the colonists were called upon to aid England in the series of wars with France and Spain.

These struggles were sometimes called by different names in England and in America, but are usually classed in history as, King William's war, 1689 to 1697; Queen Anne's war, 1702 to 1713; King George's war, 1744 to 1748. This last war, though supposed to end for England at the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, continued in America without cessation until, in 1755, it merged into the Seven Years' war, known to us as the French and Indian War. The French, strongly entrenched in Canada, were trying to push their claims through the Ohio

and Mississippi valleys and gradually to absorb the whole of North America. By gifts and clever propaganda, they had allied to themselves the most war-like of the Indian tribes. The brunt of the fighting had hitherto been borne by New England and New York, while Pennsylvania, hemmed in by peaceful Indians, had escaped the expenses and sacrifices, calamities and horrors, of war. Often the provincial governments had been asked for financial aid. As early as 1739, when Spanish privateers were abroad on the sea and threatening the commerce of the colonies, Governor Thomas asked the Assembly for money. They replied, "The Quakers do not (as the world is now circumstanced) condemn the use of arms in others, yet are principled against it themselves." This gave the Governor a chance, which he promptly took, of raising a militia force through volunteers. Some seven hundred men, most of them "redemptioners," accepted this opportunity. Then the Assembly, in compliance with complaints, refused to finance the small army until these servants were returned to their masters. In that event £30,000 would be voted. Governor Thomas, feeling that it was more difficult to replace men than pounds sterling, refused these conditions and raised the money on British credit. Whereupon, the Assembly devoted its £30,000 to reimbursing the masters for their runaway servants. This course was so satisfactory to the people, that it became the Quaker war-policy—those whose conscience would permit, might don the uniform, the Assembly would recompense losses and in addition vote money to the Crown.

But there was bitter feeling between the Governor and the Assembly, and two parties were formed. In the election of 1742, great excitement prevailed and there was a riot in Philadelphia. The Quakers won, being supported by almost the whole German population, and all the old members were re-elected. The Governor was fairly beaten and yielded to the demands of the Assembly.

Franklin helped in enlisting those who wished to fight. The first Pennsylvania militia, raised through his aid, were called "Associators," a force ignored by the Quakers who were, however, not unwilling to help support it by indirect

means. Thus, when Massachusetts, fitting out the expedition which captured Louisburg, in King George's War, asked for help, the Pennsylvania Assembly voted £4,000, "to be expended in the purchase of bread, beef, pork, flour, wheat, or *other grain.*" Franklin, in his autobiography, says that the words, "other grain" were inserted by the Assembly so that the governor might buy gunpowder.

In 1746, Thomas resigned his governorship and went back to England, leaving the executive powers to the President of Council. Very soon the latter was called upon to defend his city against Spanish privateers which were committing depredations in the bay. One of these came up the river capturing all the small ships as she went, and towing them along. It was her evident intent to take a man-of-war lying before Newcastle. George Proctor, an English sailor, who had been pressed into service on the Spanish ship, slipped overboard into one of the captured sail-boats, cut loose, and steered toward Salem, to give the alarm. The wind failing, as he neared the port, he abandoned his boat, swam ashore at three o'clock in the morning, and roused the sleeping people of Salem and Newcastle. The guns of the small fort were then turned toward the enemy and fired upon her for an hour. Replying by a single shot, raising the Spanish flag, and giving three cheers, the Spanish ship dropped down the river and put out to sea. Thus Pennsylvania also may boast her Paul Revere.

Another danger was threatening the province. The Indians had lost their early simplicity and trust in the white man. For while William Penn and his immediate followers were scrupulous in the justice of their dealings, later agents became more greedy in the desire for new land. The famous "Walking Purchase" was an example of graft never forgotten by the tribes. This was a bargain made in 1737, for the fertile Minisink country. A line drawn from Wrightstown, a little way above Trenton, northwest, parallel with the Delaware river "as far as a man could walk in a day and a half"—the line from this point to the river—these were the terms of an agreement, signed by Indians and white men. On the day appointed for the walk, delegates from both

parties assembled to see fair play. The strongest and nimblest walkers were chosen to start at dawn and they walked "twelve hours by the sheriff's watch." The Indians complained that it was running rather than walking, and when at the expiration of the second half-day, the exhausted "walkers" fell almost fainting at the end of their strength, the limit reached was thirty miles beyond the Lehigh river, which the Indians had believed would be the utmost point possible to reach. Then the connecting line to the Delaware was slanted so as to include the whole of the coveted tract. It was a fraud and the Indians nursed their resentment against the day of vengeance. Other deeds and grants left the Indians with a sense of being over-reached and defrauded.

On the other hand, the tribes of the province, inferior to those of the Six Nations, had been degraded by the white man's rum which was used to bribe them. Under its influence they became drunken brutes ready for any violence. The Quakers never succeeded in winning many converts to their faith among the Indians, though German Moravian missionaries labored faithfully and with some success.

The French lost no opportunity to draw the tribes away from their allegiance to the English and it became a question of which nation could offer largest bribes. The French and Indian War gave to the Indians, thus alienated, their opportunity for revenge.

In 1755, occurred the defeat of Braddock near Fort DuQuesne, the present site of Pittsburgh. Attempting to fight by European methods against the unknown strategems of lurking savages, his army was cut to pieces. This gave the long-desired opportunity for massacre; defenceless border settlements were attacked and destroyed, about thirty people were killed. With the taste of blood, frenzy fell upon even the old friends of Penn, Delawares, Shawnees, Mingoes and the rest. Throughout the wide forests where scattered log-cabins sheltered pioneer families, in little clearings and settlements along the Susquehanna, everywhere on the border lines of Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland, the blow fell—fire and tomahawk. Women and children were killed, men brained and scalped, only the Recording Angel knows the

number of tragedies enacted in those terrible autumn months of 1755. All the region round what is now Harrisburg was made desolate. The gentle Moravians of Bethlehem and Gnadenhutten, who had ever tried to win and serve the Indians, were slaughtered. In one settlement, the savages falling upon a school-house killed and scalped master and pupils. Even within fifty miles of Philadelphia, torture and killing went on; the bodies of whole murdered families were dragged into the city and displayed before the State House.

No wonder that the poor Quakers, with their doctrines of peace, were panic-stricken and paralyzed. The western roads were crowded with refugees, families fleeing from vengeance; while the army under General Dunbar, which should have stayed to protect the frontier, had retreated from Fort DuQuesne to the safety of Philadelphia. Pennsylvania was in no worse case than were the neighboring colonies who had no conscientious scruples against war. Virginia was equally helpless, though Washington himself commanded an army of fifteen hundred Virginians. The Quaker Assembly had no money and Governor Morris rejected all bills for raising funds by taxation. But again an appeal was made for private subscriptions and £10,000 was raised as a loan to be paid, sometime, by the Assembly. War-feeling grew stronger, petitions for defence rained upon the Assembly from every part of the province. Some four hundred determined Germans marched to the State House demanding redress, and about three hundred loyal Indians joined their plea. If help were not forthcoming they must, in self-defence, go over to the French. Even Quaker consciences could not hold out against such demands. England also protested and £5,000 was finally voted for protection. Franklin again came forward with a Militia Law and recruited more than a thousand soldiers for warfare against the Indians. Thus by making enlistment voluntary, the Quaker conscience was absolved. Franklin himself was chosen to lead his troops, though he had always hated war and knew little about it; in fact he had never used a gun even for hunting. But his men trusted him and willingly followed his lead into the Lehigh Valley. Here, in the winter of 1755 and

1756, they built a chain of forts and held the Indians at bay. But after Franklin's return to Philadelphia and throughout the succeeding three years, raids were again common. Massacres, plundering and burning went on as before. "Men were waylaid as they passed along the roads or trails, women were killed as they went to visit the sick, children as they drove the cows home at night, and many captives of all ages were carried to Canada and the wilderness of the Ohio."

For many months the system of weak defence by forts, which were really only refuges for the colonists when attacked, was the only method employed by the province. But in the summer of 1756, Colonel John Armstrong headed a force against Kitanning, a town on the Allegheny river, used as a stronghold and base for the Indian enemy. This was surrounded, ambushed, and taken by surprise. The victory was complete, and the Indians, who had never before been attacked in their town by a white foe, were demoralized by this unexpected offensive. A conference was held at Easton in November, 1756, and again at Lancaster in May, 1757. A treaty of peace was made with the Delawares and the Shawnees, converting these tribes from dangerous enemies to friends who would act as guides against the western foe, the French and the hostile Indians.

Notwithstanding this arrangement, scalping parties continued their raids and even came within thirty miles of Philadelphia. Every family outside of the city lived in constant anxiety; many of the richest farms were deserted and property was abandoned. The province was also torn by party strife. Demands were made for money, for men, for protection. There was unwillingness on the part of the governor to allow taxation and on the part of the Assembly to force a Militia Law. But the conscientious objectors to war had lost their majority in the Assembly; as early as 1756, "six Quaker delegates resigned, others declined to be candidates, and later four more resigned." A strong party opposed to the Quakers at last forced through a bill for compulsory militia service, and a large grant of money for defence. Forts were built and manned, but the French still won victories, the Indians renewed their raids.

It was not until William Pitt became prime minister of England, that a new system of defence turned the tide in favor of the colonies. A large army was sent from England; arms, ammunition, provisions and tents were furnished by the mother country; only wages and clothing were asked from the province. This aid stimulated the fighting spirit of the colonists, who at once raised more money and men than ever before. Some fifty thousand soldiers, of whom twenty thousand were provincials, gathered for a serious offensive against Canada and the West. Pennsylvania furnished twenty-seven thousand troops, more than any other colony, and was concerned in the expedition against Fort DuQuesne. Its commander was General Forbes, a Scotchman. Washington commanded the combined forces of Virginia, Maryland and North Carolina. These two armies joined forces at Bedford, Pennsylvania, in September, 1758. There were many delays in the westward advance, but the time was well used by people at home to win over some of the Indian tribes. A huge Indian conclave was again held at Easton in October, 1758. Delegates from the powerful Six Nations were present. There, all complaints of ill treatment were heard, the Walking Purchase and other land-grabbing incidents were discussed, and, so far as possible, wrongs were righted. The Minisinks were given a thousand pounds to satisfy their claims. Lands unjustly taken were given back. A missionary messenger, Frederick Post, by name, was sent out twice to the Ohio country with terms of peace and, after incredible hardships, returned with a white wampum belt, insuring friendship. The army, under Forbes and Bouquet and Washington, moved slowly west. One of the divisions, under Lewis and Grant, was defeated and cut to pieces near Fort DuQuesne, but the main army followed in such numbers that the French abandoned their garrison and fled. When the English reached the fort it had been stripped and burned; nothing was left for the conquerors to do, but to bury their dead comrades, rebuild the fort and garrison it. Fort Pitt came into being and Pittsburgh was named. So ended the war, at least Pennsylvania's share in it, and the French gave up forever their attempt to win the Mississippi valley. In 1763,

the treaty of Paris was signed, bringing peace to England and her colonies.

Benjamin Franklin was easily the foremost man in Pennsylvania. He spent two years in England in the course of the war, trying to have the Crown tax the proprietary estates for the benefit of the province. Letters, pamphlets, history, flowed from his facile pen, and his ultimate object seemed to have been to turn Pennsylvania over to the Crown. But, by a compromise, he effected a "single tax," bearing equally on all land holders. This was satisfactory to the colonists and brought Franklin great fame. Several other colonies at once asked him to become their agent. No American was ever more highly honored abroad than was Franklin. He was féted and dined in highest circles of society, presented with degrees from various colleges, made a member of scientific bodies, and consulted by the greatest scientists of the age. On his return to Pennsylvania, the summer after the treaty of Paris, he was given a vote of thanks by the Assembly and £500 for each year he had been away in their service.

The treaty of 1763 seemed to have brought a lasting peace. The farmers of Pennsylvania returned to their neglected fields with new ambition and the hope of great prosperity; but within six months a new enemy appeared in the person of Pontiac, an Indian chief who had not signed the treaty. He was bitter against the English, who had cut down forest trees, killed or frightened away the game, and constantly pushed civilization farther into the red man's domain. Pontiac was a shrewd and cunning savage with more brains and greater courage than most of his race. He organized the tribes from the lakes to the far south for a grand onslaught upon the colonies. By June, 1763, the scalping parties in their victorious career, leaving death and desolation behind them, reached Fort Pitt. The fort itself stood firm, but the Indian hordes swept past it over western Pennsylvania, with massacre and burning, as far as the Susquehanna. Panic-stricken people fled before them. Carlisle and Shippensburg were crowded with refugees, hundreds hid in cellars and barns or camped along the river side. The surprise was complete and there was no plan of defence. From Philadelphia relief

was sent to the fugitives and such help as food, clothing and ammunition could bring; but Fort Pitt was surrounded by Indians and besieged for several weeks. Colonel Bouquet with five hundred men, a company just returned broken and sick from a West India campaign, started from Carlisle for the relief of Fort Pitt. It seemed as if this "hospital battalion" could accomplish little, but their gallant leader pressed on, marching by night, using Indian tactics, and finally forcing an open battle. It was a victory, won at fearful cost of suffering; Fort Pitt was saved, the Indians fled to the west and for that year, at least, the frontier was again at peace.

As a measure of defence, the pioneers organized bands of "rangers." They adopted Indian methods and dress, even painted their faces, in order to steal among the Indians and anticipate or prevent surprise attacks. Friendship of the Quakers for their red brothers had been turned, not unnaturally, into bitter hatred and a desire for vengeance. Especially was this true of the Scotch-Irish settlers and they determined to exterminate the Indians, using the enemy's method of stealthy massacre. There was feeling, too, against the Quakers and the Quaker doctrines. The heathen, it was argued, had been delivered by God into the power of the white man for annihilation rather than for treaties of friendship. The dealing of Israel with the tribes of Canaan was quoted to prove that murders and scalpings were permitted as showing God's displeasure. At Lancaster, a body of rangers, under "the Paxton Boys," fell upon a group of Conestoga Indians, harmless people who supported themselves by making brooms and baskets. Breaking open the jail where some fourteen Indians had been placed for protection, these Scotch-Irish hot-bloods killed them all, men, women and children, the first application of "lynch law" known in our country.

Most of the English settlers were horrified and indignant. Franklin wrote a pamphlet, called "The Narrative," which won great popularity and praise among the Quakers. He expressed the shame and disgrace of such conduct on the part of Christians, especially toward the peaceful descendants of the tribes which had welcomed William Penn and received his pledge of kindness; but other settlers on the

frontier and in eastern Pennsylvania sympathized so strongly with the lynchers that the government could do nothing except denounce the murder. This outburst of lawlessness unfortunately led to bitter party strife between the Scotch-Irish or "Presbyterians" (as all Puritans, Independents, and Congregationalists were called) and the Quakers. A party of frontiersmen actually marched to Philadelphia, vowing to capture the city and destroy the hundred and forty Moravian Indians sheltered among their Quaker friends. There was something approaching a panic. The Indians were first sent to New York, but promptly returned by the government as being too dangerous guests. Then they were protected as much as possible in the Philadelphia barracks. The city was armed and civil war was expected. Happily, parleys saved the day. The Presbyterian party was induced to hold conferences, send in memorials and petitions, and for some years a battle of pamphlets waged. Some fifty or sixty of these, on both sides of the argument, are still preserved. The Quakers are accused, in prose and verse, of harboring and befriending Indians in order that the white population might be destroyed. The Quakers on their side held that Indian land had been unlawfully taken. The only practical result of this war of words was a proclamation from the governor offering a reward for Indian scalps, so far had revenge overcome the policy of peace. This proclamation deeply offended the Assembly; but later historians can excuse it because the times were so full of danger and the bounties so urgently needed for protection of the frontiers. To the honor of the colony, it must be recorded that, so far as known, no Indian was ever killed solely for the sake of the reward.

The year 1767 is memorable because it saw surveyed the famous Mason and Dixon line. Two mathematicians and surveyors, Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, came from London to determine the long-disputed boundary between Pennsylvania and Maryland—later to be a world-known demarcation between freedom and slavery.

At the end of every mile, for one hundred and thirty-two miles, was set up a stone brought from England. On one

side were the arms of Penn and on the other the arms of Lord Baltimore.

For four years the work went on, meeting considerable interference from Indian raids; then the surveyors resigned their difficult task. It is interesting to note the salaries allowed them: ten shillings six pence, about two dollars and sixty cents; for the last six months, twice that, or twenty-one shillings, little more than five dollars per day. Then wages stopped until they went aboard ship for England, when they were again given ten and six a day until they should land.

The remaining boundary line on the south was not completed until after the Revolution, in 1784. Early writers speak of the accuracy and the straightness of the Mason and Dixon line and the pleasant vistas through dense forests, made by this avenue.

But though boundary disputes might be ended by the surveyor's compass, more serious difficulties with the home government began to cloud the future of the province. In that same year, 1767, Parliament passed a bill taxing tea, glass, painters' colors, and paper. This was contrary to the "frame of government" allowed the colony, and resolutions of protest were signed by all the leading merchants of Philadelphia. In response to this and other petitions, England repealed the obnoxious duties excepting three pence per pound on tea, a trifling tax which even then permitted the colonists to purchase their favorite beverage at less than it cost in England.

But it was principle for which contention was made—the right to make their own laws. Meetings and associations urged that the tea should be neither imported nor purchased. So much of it accumulated on the hands of the East India Company that Parliament was forced to grant the right of exporting it from England to any part of the world free of duty. But none of the new world ports would receive it.

Not only did Boston have her famous "tea party," when cases of the precious herb were broken open and thrown into the harbor, but tea-ships were as resolutely, if less dramatically, refused admission to New York and Philadelphia. At

Charleston, the tea was received but stored in damp cellars and never sold, becoming a total loss.

Near Christmas time, in 1773, the ship "Polly," commanded by Captain Ayres and loaded with tea, was sighted as it approached Philadelphia. A hastily called meeting of citizens was held in the State House Yard; a solemn declaration was made that "no power on earth has the right of taxation without the consent of the taxed." Delegates were sent to keep the tea-ship from landing. The Captain was, however, invited to come ashore and was greeted as follows:

"What think you, Captain, of a halter round your neck, ten gallons of tar decanted on your pate with the feathers of a dozen wild geese laid over that to enliven your appearance? Only think seriously of this and fly to the place whence you came. Fly without hesitation and above all, dear Captain, let us advise you to fly without the wild goose feathers."

He was further warned that the colonists would never have "the detestable tea funneled down their throats with Parliament's duty mixed with it."

Captain Ayres was escorted back to the wharf, and, perceiving the stern reality underlying this grim pleasantry, he promptly obeyed orders, taking the "Polly" with her cargo of tea back to London.

On the twenty-sixth of December, Paul Revere, riding horseback full speed from Boston, brought news of the raid upon tea ships in Boston harbor, and thereby increased the excitement at Philadelphia to fever heat. He came again in March, 1774, to report the Boston Port Bill; for since Boston was the worst offender, Parliament had retaliated by closing that harbor to all shipping.

At a meeting in City Tavern, Philadelphia, resolutions were passed giving assurance of sympathy and support for Boston, although "recommending prudence and moderation." Large contributions of money were promptly sent. Yet not all the colonists were of one opinion, and it was about this time that the terms Whig and Tory came into use—Whigs being those who sympathized with Boston; Tories, those who sided with Parliament. The Governor of Pennsylvania refused to call the Assembly together for any expression of opinion, whereupon

circulars were sent to the different counties calling upon the people to voice their feelings. Meetings were held in every part of the State and resolutions passed asserting colonial rights.

These events when reported in England deeply stirred Parliament. It must not be supposed that the colonies in this early struggle for their principles, standing firm for "no taxation without representation," were without friends among British statesmen. Edmund Burke warned the government, "Let the colonies always keep the idea of their several rights associated with your government and they will cling and grapple to you, and no force under heaven will be of power to tear them from their allegiance." Charles James Fox exclaimed, "If you persist in your right to tax the Americans, you will force them into open rebellion." "We are now in great difficulties," said Dowdeswell, "let us do justice before it is too late." While Lord Chatham declared in the House of Commons, "You must repeal these Acts and you will repeal them." But Lord North, stubborn minister of a more stubborn King, replied, "I am against repealing this last Act of Parliament, I will never think of repealing it until I see America prostrate at our feet."

The strength and determination of the colonies was underestimated. "With ten thousand regulars," declared the British Ministry, "we can march through the continent, bring Boston to its knees, and terrify the rest of America by the example." No wonder that, on hearing this, Patrick Henry exclaimed, "There is no longer any room for hope. We must fight."

In September, 1774, the first Continental Congress met in Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia. A declaration of rights was drawn up and signed, denying to Parliament all power of taxation, and reserving to the Colonial Assemblies every form of legislation. The appeal to England was as dignified and reasonable as it was firm. "Permit us to be as free as yourselves and we will ever esteem a union with you to be our greatest glory and our happiness. We will be ever ready to contribute all in our power to the welfare of the Empire. We will consider your enemies our enemies, your interests our own. If you are determined that your ministers shall sport

wantonly with the rights of mankind, if neither the voice of justice, dictates of the law, principles of the constitution, nor the suggestions of humanity, shall restrain your hands from shedding blood in such an impious cause—we must then tell you that we will never submit to be hewers of wood or drawers of water for any ministry or nation in the world."

It was further resolved that "no standing armies might be maintained without consent of the people. The sugar act, stamp act, and tea act, were each and all repudiated. On the eighteenth of October, 1774, the Articles of Confederation were signed—the beginning of American Union.

At this time, John Penn was governor of Pennsylvania, a wise and sensible man who won the affections of the colonists. But holding his province from the crown, he naturally hesitated to endorse these revolutionary proceedings. Yet, he seems to have made no effort to oppose them. In January, 1775, a provincial convention met at Philadelphia and continued in session for six days. There were committees sent from each of the eight counties and the capital city had, besides, its own representation. The series of resolutions adopted show how serious the future seemed. Utmost economy of food was urged, increase of crops, building of more factories, and exclusive use of colonial manufactures as against imported goods.

At five o'clock, the evening of April 24, 1775, a mounted messenger dashed into Philadelphia, bringing news of the battle of Lexington. Delegates to the second Continental Congress had just arrived in the city and a banquet in their honor was in progress, Robert Morris presiding. So great was the excitement upon arrival of the herald, that the banquet table was over-turned; bells tolled; men and boys paraded the streets all night. In the morning, a mass meeting was held in the State House Yard and the people pledged themselves for defense. Further delegates to the Congress coming from the south, rode in a stately cavalcade; those from New England and New York in like formal entry were met by enthusiastic shouts of welcome, the whole city turned out to do them honor. The war-cloud had burst upon a resolute and united people.

"Within ten days after receiving news of Bunker Hill, the first Pennsylvania regiment was officered and completed." It contained eight companies, most of them one hundred men each, and marched immediately, under command of Colonel William Thompson of Cumberland County, to the relief of Boston. Since these were the first troops mustered south of the Hudson and were said to be "remarkable for accuracy of aim," their arrival in Massachusetts created much stir and excitement. In January, 1776, these riflemen became "the first regiment of the Army of the United Colonies, commanded by General George Washington," an honor greatly prized by Pennsylvania.

Yet, although war was certain and George Washington had been chosen commander-in-chief of their forces, the Colonists had, at first, no thought of separation from the mother-country. In 1775, Thomas Jefferson said explicitly, "We have not raised armies with design of separating from Great Britain and establishing independent states. Necessity had not driven us yet to that desperate measure." But necessity was soon to force upon them that final step on the rough road to liberty.

Meantime, a Committee of Safety had been formed at Philadelphia and held almost daily sessions. One of its first cares was to defend the Delaware river and bay. With this end in view, a State Navy was authorized and built. Its first ship, aptly named the "Experiment," was launched in July, 1775. A second craft called the "Bull Dog" was soon completed, giving to Pennsylvania another honor in thus beginning naval defense since three months before the continental congress passed a law relative to a navy. The fleet built by Congressional order came also from Philadelphia shipyards, was launched in December, 1775, was frozen up in the bay, and finally got into action the following February. They could not have been very formidable defenders, these first ships, viewed in contrast with our present dreadnaughts, they seem amusing toys. Their specified length was but a maximum of fifty feet in the keel; breadth, thirteen feet; depth, four and a half feet; estimated cost, $550 per boat. They were propelled by oars; each vessel carried "two

howitzers besides swivels, pikes and muskets." Twelve of these gunboats were ordered and speedily built. In addition, this navy included fire-rafts loaded with all sorts of inflammable things—"tar and oil barrels, turpentine casks, pine wood covered with powdered resin."

There were two floating batteries, named "Arnold" and "Putnam", a war ship, a fire-sloop, and six guard-boats. On August 1, 1776, the total number of ships in commission was reported as twenty-seven; the men in naval service, seven hundred and sixty-eight. Obstructions were sunk in the Delaware, buoys indicating the channel were removed, signal and alarm posts were stationed at short intervals. The Committee of Safety had done its best to deserve the name. Not until May, 1776, did the little fleet have opportunity to show its strength. In that month, two English warships came up the river and were promptly attacked. Firing continued for two days, when the enemy was forced to withdraw to the shelter of the Capes, leaving victory for the Americans in their first naval battle.

As the war assumed larger proportions, the question of declaring independence of Great Britain began to be discussed more seriously. To many the step appeared inevitable, and soon became the all-absorbing question for decision. The several colonies were consulted and asked to send delegates to Congress bearing their views on this vital matter. A Committee was named to frame the declaration of independence: Thomas Jefferson of Virginia, Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania, Roger Sherman of Connecticut, and Robert Livingston of New York. To Jefferson was given the task of writing the document. North Carolina was the first state to instruct her delegates to approve such declaration, even before it was framed. That was in April, 1776. On the seventh of June, Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, offered the resolution, "That the United Colonies are, and of a right ought to be, free and independent states, and that a political connection between them and Great Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved." The resolution was promptly seconded by John Adams of Massachusetts. The Pennsylvania Assembly had not favored such action; her delegate, John Dickinson, was now the most formidable

opponent in the Congress to this declaration of independence. History proves him to have been a true patriot, but conservative. He felt that colonial rights were compatible with loyalty to the King, and that a compromise could be effected.

The first day of July, a vote on the resolution approved its adoption by all the colonies except Pennsylvania and Delaware; but on the historic Fourth of July, 1776, the opposing delegates had been replaced by others and John Dickinson was absent, so that every vote was in favor of independence. On July fifth, circulars conferring the glad news were sent to all the colonies; but not until the eighth, at noon, in the State House Yard was the Declaration read to the assembled people. Then the King's arms which had surmounted the doorway were formally taken down and burned; joy bells rang, bonfires blazed, a Democracy had been born. In the words of Bancroft, the historian, "The nation when it made the choice of its great anniversary, selected not the day of the resolution of independence, when it closed the past, but that of the declaration of the principles on which it opened its new career." A great step had been taken on the world-road to liberty. John Adams wrote "The greatest question was decided which ever was debated in America, and a greater perhaps never was nor will be decided among men."

July fifteenth, delegates met in convention to frame a state constitution for Pennsylvania. This went into effect September twenty-eighth without popular vote. A general Assembly was to be elected annually; a president, chosen each year by the Assembly and Council, was given supreme executive power, while his Council of twelve persons was elected, in classes, for a term of three years.

Meantime, victory seemed at first to be with the English, and Pennsylvania troops suffered severely.

In November, General Howe with a large army advanced toward Philadelphia. The Assembly sent Governor Mifflin to stir up the people to the need of defence. Bounties were offered to volunteers, ten dollars to every man who would join General Washington on or before December 20th, seven dollars if before the 25th; five dollars if enlisting between the 25th and 30th and signing for six weeks' service.

Owing to the English advance, Congress adjourned to Baltimore while General Washington sent Major General Israel Putnam to take charge of defence in Philadelphia.

On Christmas night, at McConkey's Ferry, eight miles above Trenton, Washington led his troops across the Delaware. Story and picture of that venture are well known—the bitter cold, the perils from floating ice, the complete silence enjoined by the Commander. It was the simple exhortation, "I hope you will all fight like men," that nerved each soldier's heart and arm. Between three and four o'clock in the morning, the last barge landed; then came a march through the snow to surprise Trenton. The force was divided, Washington leading a detachment to the north, General Ewing to the south, thus approaching the town from both sides. The priming of the guns was found to be wet and useless. "Well, then," said General Sullivan, "We must fight them with bayonets." With such commanders and such a spirit, it is not strange that the Americans won a complete victory. Their loss in the battle of Trenton totalled only four, two privates killed and two frozen to death.

On January 2, 1777, was fought the battle of Princeton, in which the Pennsylvania troops distinguished themselves by special bravery. But by July, Howe was again threatening Philadelphia, causing another panic. Congress called for four thousand militia. Washington arrived with detachments of colonial troops, and at this time first met General Lafayette, recently come from France to aid the colonies, whose spirit he admired. A firm friendship was established between these two great men. Lafayette at once removed to Washington's camp and submitted to all its rigors and privations. The threatened attack upon the Capital was diverted; for Howe found in the Delaware such difficulties for his ships that he determined to approach his enemy by way of the Chesapeake. But a British army of eighteen thousand men disembarked near the river Elk and advanced, under Lord Cornwallis, to the battle of the Brandywine. Opposed to these professional soldiers, "selected from the best of the British empire and of the war-like race of Hesse, and perfectly equipped," Washington had fewer than twelve thousand,

including militia, volunteers and untrained recruits. Of this number, Pennsylvania furnished not more than twelve hundred. With such odds against them, it was not surprising that the Americans were defeated and driven back to Philadelphia, with heavy loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The British, however, paid almost as heavily for their victory. On the twenty-sixth of September, 1777, Lord Cornwallis entered the city in triumph and was welcomed by the Tories, or Royalist party, which, at that time, numbered some prominent Quakers. On the approach of Cornwallis, the General Assembly, itself "rent by factions," had fled for safety to Lancaster. Howe invested Philadelphia and began to clear the river of its obstructions. General Washington attempted a surprise attack upon Germantown; but a dense fog confused the movements of his army and brought about failure.

On October seventeenth, Burgoyne surrendered to Gates at Saratoga and the American revolt became a Revolution. Yet, the American army at the beginning of 1778 was a sorry lot of patriots. Numbering eleven thousand, nearly three thousand of them were unfit for duty, "being barefoot and otherwise naked," while Howe had still more than twelve thousand men in good condition.

Washington took his ragged troops into winter quarters at Valley Forge. The sufferings of that bitter season need no description; but for the stout heart and earnest prayers of their leader, the discontented, even mutinous, soldiers could not have been held together until spring. But he held them and again passed a critical turning which led from defeat to victory.

In January, 1778, occurred the "Battle of the Kegs," later celebrated in ballad form by Francis Hopkinson, author of "Hail, Columbia." The kegs, prepared at Burlington, New Jersey, by Pennsylvania sailors, were contrived with spring locks arranged to explode on contact with any hard substance. These primitive mines, set afloat in large numbers, drifted among the British ships and aroused great alarm. All the enemy guns opened fire upon the floating kegs which performed at least the service of wasting British ammunition, though other damage seems to have been slight.

In February of that year, France openly declared herself in favor of the colonies and thereby greatly strengthened their cause. Howe was superseded, in May, by Sir Henry Clinton as commander-in-chief of the British forces. In honor of General Howe, a farewell entertainment was given at the country home of Mr. Wharton, near Philadelphia. This was called the Mischianza and was a combination of parade, regatta, banquet and ball. A water pageant on the Delaware showed brilliant barges, galleys, and smaller boats, filled with gaily dressed people. A procession of knights and ladies attired in satins and plumed hats represented the fantastic orders of the "Blended Rose" and the "Burning Mountain." There was a tournament modeled after those of the Middle Ages, then a grand supper followed by dancing. The participants were British officers and their Tory friends. A touch of pathetic interest is added to this revel by the record of Major André as one of the knights. He was indeed a principal factor in the pageant, painting scenery, designing costumes, and making sketches of the figures. Soon to be the victim of Arnold's treason, he felt no shadow of his approaching fate. For us, this gayety calls up a sombre contrast to our American soldiers then starving at Valley Forge.

Six days after the Mischianza, the scene had changed. An order came for the evacuation of Philadelphia, accomplished the eighteenth of June. English commissioners had arrived to negotiate peace; but the knowledge that France was supporting the colonies, and had bound herself by treaty to their aid, nerved them to refusal of any modified terms. It is said that General Joseph Reed, delegate to Congress, and later President of Council, was offered a bribe by these commissioners—£10,000 with "the best office in the colonies," in return for his support of British terms. He replied, "I am not worth purchasing, but such as I am, the King of Great Britain is not rich enough to do it."

Congress stood firm, the British army withdrew, Continental troops returned. On the twenty-eighth of June, 1778, General Washington won the battle of Monmouth, and his victorious army re-occupied Philadelphia. Benedict Arnold was ordered to take charge of the city and preserve order.

On July 2, 1778, Congress met again in Philadelphia to frame Articles of Confederation. Delegates from eight of the thirteen states promptly signed these articles and, on the tenth of July, a circular was sent to the five other states, urging similar action. By June of the following year, all but Maryland had consented, that state joining the others as late as March, 1781.

But the Confederation was only a partnership of independent republics, there was as yet no real union. The faults of the Confederation were many and the states were rent by factions and jealousies. Several attempts to improve and strengthen federal power failed of success until, in 1780, Alexander Hamilton "took the field as a maker of a National Constitution." By his advice authority was largely centralized and the Confederation, in spite of faults, held the new nation together until its real union—the Constitution of 1787.

Meantime, in Pennsylvania, things were far from favorable. Many Indians had joined the British side and were at their old game of massacre and pillage. July, 1778, saw a raid in the Wyoming Valley, and cruel slaughter of the people who had taken refuge in the feeble forts. The revengeful Senecas, under British flag and leader, overspread the surrounding territory and destroyed the labor of years. Beside the murder of two hundred and twenty-five men and the driving into exile scores of terrified women and children, the British leader boasted that his savage allies had burned "a thousand houses and every mill."

Added to English and Indian foes, Tories and traitors were found among the "best citizens" of Philadelphia. The Assembly tried to punish those who had been false to their allegiance, but party quarrels weakened the strength of law and only two flagrant traitors were convicted and hanged.

The long-dependable paper money was at last frightfully depreciated, even three thousand per cent. below face value. Necessities of life, as well as its luxuries, were well-nigh unattainable. There was almost no salt, tea, coffee, chocolate, or sugar. Spinning was done at home, and all garments were home-made; yet, even so, there was great scarcity of clothing. Silk reached a price of one hundred dollars a yard. Hay was sold by the pound; salt was worth from seventy-five

to a hundred dollars per bushel. American prisoners, confined during the British occupation of Philadelphia in the State House and the Walnut Street prison, were cruelly neglected, even tortured; numbers died from hunger and cold.

Many reasons, therefore, combined for the order in Congress that the thirtieth of December, 1778, should be observed as a day of fasting and prayer.

Yet there were ardent patriots in civil life as well as among the statesmen and soldiers. When Washington applied to Robert Morris, wealthy merchant and signer of the Declaration of Independence, for money desperately needed to pay the starving soldiers, there was response deserving of record. On New Year morning, 1777, Morris went, before dawn, from door to door among his Philadelphia neighbors collecting the desired amount of $50,000 "in hard money." So ready were the people with this self-sacrifice that, by sunrise, the mission had been accomplished; the gift, forwarded to headquarters saved the army from disorganization.

Tradition speaks also of Lydia Darragh who, placing her ear to a crack in the upper flooring, overheard British officers discussing their plans. This was at the time when Philadelphia was occupied by Cornwallis and Howe. The brave woman managed to make her way through the line of sentries, and, after incredible fatigue, to reach American headquarters and put Washington on his guard. The house of Betsey Ross is still preserved, where, according to another tradition, the first American flag was made, under Washington's direction.

Philadelphia had grown into a town of some size at this epoch—about 25,000 people. It is recorded that when its inhabitants fled before British occupation, five hundred and ninety dwellings and twenty-four stores were abandoned. There was great destruction of property in city and in country, for both armies, British and Continental, indulged in forage and pillaging usual to war. John Adams, coming to the First Continental Congress, had written home enthusiastic letters praising "the happy, the peaceful, the elegant, the hospitable, the polite, city of Philadelphia." Fortunately for such reputation, the enemy occupation was brief, and the storm center of war soon moved away from Pennsylvania.

Authority re-asserted itself. Arnold was ordered before court-martial for "illegal and oppressive conduct while in command of the military at Philadelphia." He fled to Camp Raritan whence he addressed a "Letter to the Public," attempting to justify his acts. For months he evaded trial but was finally court-martialled in January, 1780, and convicted merely of "using public wagons for his own benefit," but acquitted of any "corrupt intent." The sentence was only a reprimand from his Commander-in-chief, but Arnold never forgave the investigation. Fancied injustice rankled in his mind and doubtless led to his treasonable attempt to betray West Point to the British, resulting in his own everlasting disgrace, and in the execution of brave Major André. When, in September, 1780, news of this treason reached Philadelphia, Arnold's estate was promptly confiscated, his body burned in effigy, and his wife ordered to leave the state within fourteen days. Many persons, including Tories and Quakers, were tried for treason though only two Quakers were put to death.

Money difficulties increased and the General Assembly tried to remedy them by stopping the issue of paper currency and adopting a series of private loans. This gave temporary relief but was not entirely successful.

To punish Indian atrocities, Washington ordered General Sullivan to carry the war into the country of the Six Nations. Near Newtown, on the Chemung river, thirteen thousand Indians, led by Brant and aided by two hundred and fifty Tories, met Colonel John Butler with a company of rangers and regulars. The Indians fled, forty of their towns were destroyed and the whole Genesee County was swept clean of hostile tribes.

Yet, even after this, raids continued and neither New York nor Pennsylvania was wholly free from fear of massacre until, at the end of the century, civilization had crowded out the savages.

In 1780, Congress passed an act for the gradual abolition of slavery in Pennsylvania. In spite of foes without and within, both Commonwealth and Union were advancing. But again a British Army threatened. Sir Henry Clinton

entered New Jersey and fears arose that there might be treasonable communications with him. Stringent laws were passed against "strangers" in the State. Search was made for concealed weapons, and horses belonging to Tories were seized by the government.

On the night of January first, 1781, a part of the "Pennsylvania Line," many of them raw Irish troops, mutinied at Morristown, New Jersey. Under lead of their non-commissioned officers, they marched to Princeton, bringing with them six guns. For a year they had received no pay, they were without sufficient clothes and food, they had been compelled to serve beyond the time for which they had enlisted. These privations, they declared, were no longer to be endured. Sir Henry Clinton sent spies to offer bribes for desertion to the British side and the fact that two of these enemy messengers were seized and hanged proves that the revolt was one against conditions rather than against their cause.

Joseph Reed, president of the Pennsylvania Council, went to reason with the mutineers. He discharged those who claimed that their time was up, quickly gathered, from the state, money and clothing for the remaining troops, and quelled the revolt. There were signs of similar rebellion on the part of other regiments, but Washington held them to duty. Lafayette, writing to his wife of these events exclaimed, "Human patience has its limits! No European army would suffer the tenth part of what the American troops suffer."

In February, 1781, the Pennsylvania regiments were ordered to join General Wayne at York and thence go south to combine with General Green's army for the investment of Yorktown, Virginia. Here, on the nineteenth of October, 1781, Lord Cornwallis capitulated and the American Revolution was finally won. When Congress received, from General Washington, news of the capitulation, the whole body, followed by all the populace, adjourned in procession to the Dutch Lutheran Church to return thanks to God. At night there was a grand illumination in the Philadelphia streets and the people were wild with joy. Congress voted the thanks of the nation with honors to Washington, the allied French generals, and all officers of the American Army.

First word of Cornwallis' surrender reached England on November 25. "It is all over," said Lord North. Parliament voted to give up "all further attempts to reduce the revolted colonies," while the city of London sent to the King a petition praying that he "put an end to this unnatural and unfortunate war." But the King stubbornly refused his consent; the utmost that, after many delays, could be extorted from him, was an agreement not to veto any vote for the independence of the colonies. It was not until November thirtieth, 1782—a year after the surrender of Cornwallis—that commissioners from England and America signed at Paris the treaty of peace. Benjamin Franklin, to whose persistence its success was largely due, was among the commissioners, and on that triumphant day he exclaimed, "Could I have hoped, at such an age, to have enjoyed so great happiness!"

The following spring the news had reached America and formal ratification of the treaty confirmed the birth of a new nation. It is one of the pleasant coincidences of history that the first English ship to fly the American flag sailed up the Thames river, bearing the name "William Penn."

Colonial history ends with the birth of the State. In May, 1787, a convention at Philadelphia framed the Federal Constitution and established the New Republic on a firm foundation.

To Pennsylvania, although she had been slow to declare independence, belongs the honor of being one of the first to ratify the Constitution and to take her proud place as Keystone in the Arch of triumphant Democracy.

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